1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [1177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 466 571 576 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 466 571 576 178 [179] On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil [667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in [663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642 634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite 634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet- 634 652 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local government from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 • 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Maguseri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy (571) out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, 651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Maguseri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe 647 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All 661 631 efforts by the present DH of Maguseri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to evict the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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571 However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

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647 This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized.(1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

(1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

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554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

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662 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

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one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A. He (1) had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form. (2)

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 [114] That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Waziri and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Waziri, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

Footnote continues on p. 258

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
• 647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 576 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, 571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence. [183] [671] 261.

Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

665 it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come
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[186] to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should sup-
• 647 port the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),(1) is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.